

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 248115

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY DAKAR IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 248115

NODIS

FOR AMBASSADOR ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, SE

SUBJECT: MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET BOIGNY

1. PLEASE PASS THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT
HOUPHOUET BOIGNY FROM THE SECRETARY.

2. "DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: ASSISTANT SECRETARY REINHARDT
HAS GIVEN ME A FULL REPORT OF HIS MEETING WITH YOU. I
WANT TO TAKE AN EARLY OPPORTUNITY TO THANK YOU FOR
RECEIVING HIM AND BRING YOU UP TO DATE ON WHERE MATTERS
STAND IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

3. AS I WROTE YOU EARLIER, I BELIEVE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS
HAS BEEN MADE IN FINDING A SETTLEMENT TO THE NAMIBIAN
PROBLEM. THIS CONTINUES TO BE MY JUDGMENT, EVEN THOUGH
THERE ARE STILL OBSTACLES TO BE OVERCOME. EARLY THIS
SUMMER, THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS TOLD ME A NAMIBIAN
SETTLEMENT COULD BE ACHIEVED IF A DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE
WAS SET, A CONFERENCE CONVENED AT A NEUTRAL LOCATION TO
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 248115

DISCUSS THE STEPS LEADING UP TO INDEPENDENCE, SWAPO

INVITED, AND AN ASSOCIATION WITH THE UNITED NATIONS
ARRANGED.

4. I DISCUSSED THESE PROPOSALS WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN

PRIME MINISTER AND CONCLUDE FROM MY DISCUSSIONS THAT
SOUTH AFRICA IS WILLING TO CONTRIBUTE FULLY TO A SETTLE-
MENT OF THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM. I AM ASSURED IT WILL BE
POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT WHICH WILL INCLUDE
A SOUTH AFRICAN COMMITMENT TO A DATE FOR INDEPENDENCE,
AN INVITATION TO SWAPO AND UN PARTICIPATION, AND AN
AGREEMENT FROM THE SOUTH AFRICANS TO SEND A REPRESENTA-
TIVE TO GENEVA TO NEGOTIATE ALL ISSUES CONCERNING
NAMIBIA AND SOUTH AFRICA AND ACCEPT THE CONCLUSIONS OF
THE CONFERENCE.

5. GIVEN SOUTH AFRICA'S WILLINGNESS TO PROCEED, I HAD
HOPED THAT ON OCTOBER 5 THE WINDHOEK CONFERENCE WOULD
ANNOUNCE ITS WILLINGNESS TO SEND A DELEGATION TO GENEVA
AND ACCEPT THE PRINCIPAL FEATURES OF A SETTLEMENT.
HOWEVER, MY CONSULTATIONS SINCE MY RETURN FROM AFRICA
CONVINCE ME THAT ALL PARTIES TO A FINAL SETTLEMENT HAVE
NOT MADE UP THEIR MINDS AND INDICATED THEY ARE WILLING
TO PROCEED ON THE BASIS OF THE FRAMEWORK I HAVE OUTLINED
ABOVE. IT WOULD BE MOST UNFORTUNATE IF THESE PROPOSALS
WERE REJECTED; THE ENTIRE PROCESS OF NEGOTIATIONS WOULD
BE JEOPARDIZED IF ANOTHER PUBLIC CONTROVERSY LIKE THAT
WHICH FOLLOWED THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS LUSAKA STATEMENT
ON RHODESIA RESULTED. I HAVE THEREFORE RECOMMENDED TO
THE SOUTH AFRICANS THAT THE CONFERENCE WAIT UNTIL ALL
PARTIES HAVE HAD A CHANCE TO CONSIDER THE PROPOSED
FRAMEWORK FOR A SETTLEMENT AND HAVE INDICATED WHETHER
THEY ARE WILLING TO PROCEED.

6. I CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT THE PROPOSALS I HAVE
OUTLINED OFFER A CLEAR ROAD TO THE FINAL RESOLUTION OF
THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM. AT THE SAME TIME, I AM CONVINCED
THAT WE ARE RAPIDLY REACHING THE OUTSIDE LIMIT OF WHAT
SOUTH AFRICA CAN, IN FAIRNESS, BE EXPECTED TO ACCEPT.
SOUTH AFRICA MUST HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO SAVE FACE; IT
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 248115

CANNOT NEGOTIATE WITH SWAPO AND EXCLUDE OTHER NAMI-
BIANS. OTHERWISE, IT WILL DIG IN AND FIGHT. SWAPO HAS
OBTAINED ALMOST EVERYTHING IT REQUIRES. TIME IS ON
SWAPO'S SIDE AND THE INTERNATIONAL BACKING WHICH IT
ENJOYS WILL GUARANTEE IT A POSITION OF STRENGTH AT THE
CONFERENCE TABLE AND IN POST-INDEPENDENCE NAMIBIA.
ONCE THE PARTIES HAVE RECONSIDERED THEIR POSITION ON A
SETTLEMENT AND A CONSENSUS IS CLEAR, IT WILL BE POSSIBLE

TO OBTAIN THE SORT OF PUBLIC COMMITMENT WHICH WAS
PLANNED FOR OCTOBER 5. IN MY VIEW, WE MUST MOVE RAPIDLY
LEST THE SITUATION IN NAMIBIA DETERIORATE AND WE LOSE
THIS OPPORTUNITY FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. AS I
WROTE YOU BEFORE, WE MUST ALL WORK TO AVOID THE POSSIBILITY

OF INCREASED FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT WHICH A BREAKDOWN IN
NEGOTIATIONS IS CERTAIN TO ENCOURAGE.

7. I AM SOMEWHAT ENCOURAGED BY THE PROGRESS MADE SO
FAR WITH RESPECT TO RHODESIA. THE PRINCIPAL PROBLEM
BEFORE US IS TO PIN DOWN THE DATE AND PLACE FOR THE
CONFERENCE WHICH WILL DISCUSS THE FORMATION OF AN
INTERIM GOVERNMENT AND DETERMINE THE COMPOSITION OF THE
TWO DELEGATIONS. THIS QUESTION IS BEING GIVEN URGENT
CONSIDERATION BY THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS, THE RHODESIAN
NATIONALISTS AND THE AUTHORITIES IN SALISBURY. AS YOU
KNOW, MY ASSISTANT SECRETARY AND THE BRITISH MINISTER
OF STATE ROWLANDS HAVE WORKED OVER THE PAST WEEK TO
OBTAIN AGREEMENT AND WE AND THE BRITISH WILL CONTINUE
TO DO ALL WE CAN TO MOVE THE QUESTION ALONG. IF THE
NATIONALISTS ORGANIZE THEMSELVES RAPIDLY, THEY SHOULD
BE ABLE TO NEGOTIATE THE INSTALLATION OF AN INTERIM
GOVERNMENT WHICH WILL LEAD RHODESIA TO INDEPENDENCE AND
CONTRIBUTE TO THE REGION'S STABILITY AND PROGRESS. IF
NEGOTIATIONS DO NOT START SOON, THE WAR WILL CONTINUE
AND GREAT POWER INVOLVEMENT WILL BE INCREASINGLY
LIKELY. THE CONSEQUENCES FOR YOUR REGION AND AFRICA AS
A WHOLE WOULD BE GRIM TO CONTEMPLATE. ANY ENCOURAGEMENT
YOU CAN GIVE TO THIS PROCESS WOULD BE GREATLY APPRECIATED.

8. I HAVE COMMUNICATED MY VIEWS ON SOUTHERN AFRICA TO
PRESIDENT MOBUTU WHOM I UNDERSTAND WILL VISIT YOU
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 248115

SHORTLY. YOUR ADVICE TO ME OVER THE PAST MONTHS ON HOW
TO SECURE SETTLEMENTS FOR RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, WHICH
WILL SERVE THE CAUSE OF PEACE AND MODERATION IN AFRICA,
HAS BEEN INVALUABLE. I LOOK FORWARD TO STAYING IN
TOUCH WITH YOU IN THE WEEKS AHEAD.

9. SINCERELY, HENRY A. KISSINGER." ROBINSON

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